

SEPTEMBER...1947

The INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER



Official Magazine

THE INTERNATIONAL BROTHERHOOD OF TEAMSTERS • CHAUFFEURS • WAREHOUSEMEN & HELPERS OF AMERICA

Politically, We're Wide Open

THE decision of the International convention last month in San Francisco to henceforth hold conventions in presidential election years indicates that this union intends to play an active part in political affairs.

It means that prior to each presidential election, the delegates of all locals will assemble to consider the issues and candidates of both political parties.

Having once decided in convention which candidates to support, the entire strength of the Teamsters' Union throughout the country will then be mobilized behind the selection of the convention.

Both parties will realize that their actions will come under close scrutiny by the Teamsters' convention. They will know that the nation's largest labor union is prepared to move promptly to repudiate or support the candidates nominated by the political conventions. And they will know that they must choose their candidates with care if they hope to receive the support of the Teamsters.

The next Teamster convention will be held in 1952.

So far as the 1948 election is concerned, President Tobin announced in San Francisco that the Teamsters would withhold judgment until both parties have nominated their candidates.

President Tobin's statement indicates that the Teamsters can no longer be considered as owned or controlled by any party. They are free and unpledged.

Although President Truman vetoed the Taft-Hartley bill, the measure was enacted into law by the votes of 20 Democratic senators. The record therefore shows that the Democratic party is talking out of both sides of its mouth to labor.

The record of the Republican party is one of unconcealed hostility to labor.

The Teamsters therefore can make no decision until the candidates have been nominated and the platforms written.

President Tobin emphasized, however, that senators and congressmen of both parties will be supported or opposed on their labor record, rather than on political affiliation.

No other course is possible under existing conditions. A third party would insure the victory of the Republicans. In effect, it would put us in the Republican party in the custody of our enemies.

For the next year, therefore, the Teamsters will concentrate their efforts in each state on electing our friends and defeating our enemies in the time-honored tradition of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

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CHAUFFEURS . . . WAREHOUSEMEN AND HELPERS

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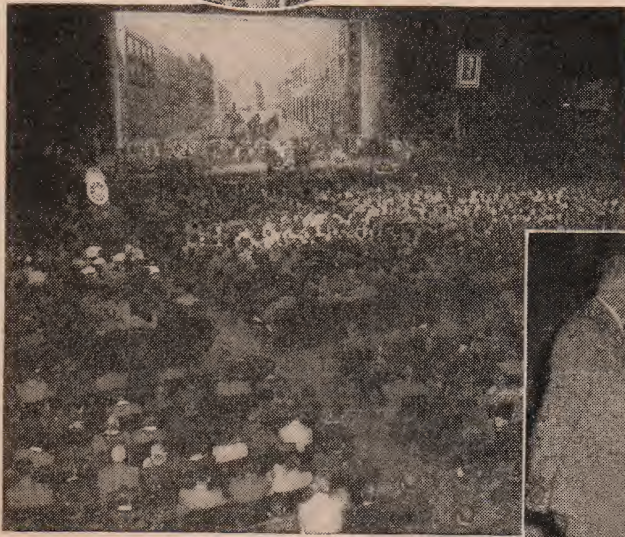
In San Francisco



Upper Right: President Tobin converses with Governor Earl Warren of California during the opening ceremonies of the convention.

Left Center: AFL President William Green at special desk of the convention as he challenges the Republicans to nominate Taft for President.

Lower Center: View of the convention looking toward the stage from the rear of the auditorium.



Lower Right: President Tobin with Governor Warren and prominent labor leaders on the stage. From the left, John F. Shelley, President of the California State Federation; John O'Connell, Secretary of the San Francisco central body; Charles Real, Vice-President of the San Francisco Joint Council; Governor Warren, International Vice-President Dave Beck, Mr. Tobin, and C. J. Haggerty, Secretary of the State Federation.



Convention Gives Tobin Ovation

Secretary English and All Other Officers Re-elected

IN A tumultuous tribute to a great leader, the 15th convention of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters unanimously re-elected Daniel J. Tobin general president at its closing session in the San Francisco civic auditorium on August 15.

Many times before this honor has come to President Tobin in the 40 years he has served this union, building it from a little, bankrupt organization of a few thousand members to the nation's greatest and most powerful labor union with close to a million members and more than 17 million dollars in its treasury.

But never before did he receive such a spontaneous ovation as that which brought 1,716 delegates to their feet when he was nominated for another five-year term, after flatly refusing a salary increase of \$10,000 per year which the grateful delegates sought to give him.

At one time the delegates threatened to disregard his wishes and push through an amendment to the constitution increasing the annual salary of the general president to \$40,000 per year.

"If you want to get rid of the present incumbent, this is the way to do it," President Tobin thundered. "The motion is in order and you have the right to specify any salary you choose for your officers.

"However, I am notifying the delegates that if this amendment is passed, I will not be a candidate for re-election."

The convention sat in complete silence for a moment and then the motion to increase the president's salary was withdrawn.

A similar incident occurred when Secretary-Treasurer John F. English took

the floor to speak in favor of a constitutional amendment to reduce the salary for that position to \$20,000.

International Vice-President Dave Beck, chairman of the constitution committee, brought in the amendment. He pointed out that the president and secretary-treasurer draw the same salary—\$30,000—under the terms of the old constitution.

He said that this is inequitable because there is no comparison between the duties and responsibilities of the two positions.

Mr. Beck said he had favored an amendment to raise the president's salary but that President Tobin had refused to sanction it.

Mr. English agreed that there should be a differential in the two positions and said he considered \$20,000 a fair salary.

But a storm of protest swept the convention hall as one delegate after another got up to protest any wage cutting.

Probably never before have the two top officers of any union faced an international convention to demand lower wages for themselves.

And had the amendment raising the president's salary passed, there is no question whatever that President Tobin would have made good his threat to surrender the leadership he has maintained so long.

Some months ago he had virtually made up his mind to retire. But then the reactionary coalition in control of Congress showed its determination to destroy labor as the prelude to the most reactionary era this country has ever experienced.

When the Taft-Hartley Act passed and was enacted over the veto of President Truman, Mr. Tobin knew that labor faced a fight that would demand all the energy and experience its leaders possessed.

He reconsidered his intention to retire because he knew his union needed him. But from a personal standpoint, he stood for re-election reluctantly.

President Tobin's re-election maintained the extraordinary record begun in 1907, when he first assumed the International presidency. Not a man has ever run against him. He has always been re-elected unanimously.

Prior to this convention a man in the East announced that he would be a candidate against Mr. Tobin.

"That's his privilege," commented President Tobin. "It's a free country and in our democratic union any man can run for any office."

But when it came time for the nominations, nobody arose to break the long record of unanimity established by past conventions.

When President Tobin's new term runs out in 1952 he will have devoted 45 years of service to this union as its president and four years as business agent in Boston.

President William Green of the American Federation of Labor was one of the few outside speakers who addressed the convention. While in San Francisco, where he went expressly to meet with the Teamsters, he announced that he planned to run for re-election at the annual AFL convention in San Francisco starting on October 6.

Like President Tobin, he had planned to relinquish the office to which he was elected 20 years ago. But like Mr. Tobin also, his plans were changed by national political developments endangering the existence of organized labor.

Mr. Green's retirement at this time would plunge the AFL into a factional fight over his successor which would divert and divide labor at a time when united action is essential to its preservation.

After re-electing President Tobin, the convention elected Mr. English as general secretary-treasurer and the entire executive board and trustees. There was no opposition. Every incumbent was re-elected.

The San Francisco convention which opened on August 11 was the first since 1940 in Washington, D. C., where President Roosevelt opened his third term campaign.

The next convention was set for September, 1945, but at that time the war was in progress and all unnecessary travel was prohibited by the government.

It was impossible to hold the convention in 1946 because of the problems of hotel and railroad accommodations for the delegates. Los Angeles had been designated as the 1945 convention city by the 1940 convention but that city declared itself unable to provide sufficient hotel space.

Because of the difficulty of selecting a convention city five years in advance, the choice of the 1952 convention city will be left to the general executive board.

After 1952, conventions will be held every four years, instead of every five, and the conventions will be held in presidential election years.

From every standpoint, the San Francisco convention was an outstanding success. The business sessions saw many changes in the constitution.

The delegates were cordially entertained by the five joint councils of California, Oregon and Washington.

The famed western hospitality was

in constant evidence and continued even after the convention adjourned, as hundreds of the delegates went north and south along the Pacific Coast to view the beauties of the Far West.

The joint councils in Portland, Seattle and Los Angeles continued the entertainment of traveling delegates until the last of them had headed for their homes in the East, South and Midwest.

The convention was one of the most orderly, not only in the history of the Teamsters' Union, but in the history of San Francisco.

Several hotel managers informed President Tobin that they were amazed by the excellent behavior of the delegates. In conventions of that size considerable boisterousness and rowdiness is expected.

But the hotel men informed President Tobin that the Teamsters had caused less damage and less noise than any other convention of comparable scope that ever visited San Francisco.

The delegates went there for business and they transacted their business. They gave serious consideration to all the questions that came before them.

Among the most important were the amendments to the constitution.

These provide for the appointment by the general president of an executive vice-president to assist in handling the increasing duties in International headquarters.

Others extended the jurisdiction of the Teamsters to include cannery workers, and other workers, "where the security of the bargaining positions (of other members of the union) requires the organization of such workers."

Additional changes were:

Empowering the executive board to change provisions in the section applying to vendors and owner-equipment drivers.

Widening the section banning Communists from membership to include "other subversive organizations." It provides for the right of appeal from action by any local to the general executive board, whose decision "shall be final and binding." It eliminates the right of appeal from the decision of the board to the next International convention.

Representation at future conventions will be on the basis of one delegate for each 500 members or major fraction thereof, with no union entitled to more than nine delegates. These delegates will vote, however, on the basis of one vote for each 300 members, as at present.

If the funds of the International should ever drop below five million dollars, the general executive board is empowered to levy an assessment of one dollar per member.

In cases where the strike of any local would involve or affect other Teamster locals, the local is prohibited from striking until it has consulted with the joint council or with the other locals. This is an echo of the Oakland general strike, precipitated by one local.

Sectional organizations such as the Central, Southern and Western Conferences are now recognized by the constitution, but are placed under the supervision and control of the International.

A retirement plan for International employees with 30 years of service was authorized.

Many other routine changes were made in the constitution, some by the addition of new provisions and other changes by the elimination of existing specifications.

The new constitution is now in the hands of the printer and will be available to all local unions by the time it goes into effect on December 1.

One of the routine changes of con-

siderable importance is the amendment of the finance committee section which expressly authorizes the general executive board to purchase or erect a general office building.

This renews the authority granted by the 1940 convention to move International headquarters from Indianapolis, where they rent space from the Carpenters' Union, to a building of their own in Washington, D. C.

This was never carried out because the shortage of building materials was then in evidence, due to the national defense program.

The same section of the constitution was further amended to permit the International to loan money to other labor organizations up to 6 per cent of the assets of the International, "when it deems it necessary for the maintenance, protection and preservation of the labor movement."

Withdrawal cards henceforth are good indefinitely and do not need to be renewed every year, as heretofore.

Machinery for settling jurisdictional disputes between Teamster locals is provided with specific prohibition of a strike. Any local engaging in a work stoppage in a dispute with any other Teamster local is subject to drastic penalty such as a fine or even revocation of its charter.

A new section covers court action, providing that if any member or local union sues the International and loses its case, the expenses incurred by the International in defending itself shall be assessed against the plaintiff. In the event of one union or subordinate body suing another one, the provision is the same. The loser pays.

Among resolutions adopted by the convention was one urging pre-war income tax exemptions of \$1,500 for single persons and \$2,500 for married men.

The same resolution commended the defeat of the income tax reduction plan vetoed by President Truman.

Another put all products of the Andrew Jergens Company on the "We Do Not Patronize" list because of the company's dispute with Local No. 598 in California. It also included products bearing the Woodbury trade marks.

The convention recognized the problem of juvenile delinquency and pledged the International to cooperate with civic authorities in combatting it. The convention recommended that all local unions support athletic programs in their communities.

A resolution favoring statehood for Alaska was passed. President Tobin pointed out that this would be a wise step in view of present strained relations with Russia. As a state, Alaska would strengthen national defense, he said.

Much attention was devoted by the delegates to anti-labor legislation. Attorneys representing Teamster unions in many parts of the country were present and attended conferences with General Counsel Joseph A. Padway.

The perils to labor in the Taft-Hartley Act were described by Mr. Padway to the delegates.

His remarks, together with those of other speakers, will be reproduced in this and subsequent issues of this publication.

Because of the length of the convention and the wide range of questions covered, it is impossible to print all of them in one issue.

President Tobin called the convention to order on Monday morning, August 11.

Until the following Friday, the delegates held daily sessions in the morning and afternoon. The evenings were occupied largely with committee work, sec-

tional conferences and other business.

One night session was held to hear the attorneys discuss the Taft-Hartley Act. Another night session was called for entertainment purposes.

At 4:35 o'clock Friday afternoon, August 15, President Tobin disposed of the final business and banged the gavel to adjourn the convention sine die.

The 15th convention was probably the most constructive and important in

the history of the International Brotherhood of Teamsters.

President Tobin was highly pleased with its accomplishments and with the caliber of the delegates.

"Every one of our local unions can be proud of their delegates," he said. "They worked hard and harmoniously for the benefit of their members. It was a splendid convention because it was composed of splendid men."

Master Truckmen Score Taft Law

A telegram to John O'Rourke, president of the New York Joint Council of Teamsters, from Fred B. Wolf, president of the Master Truckmen of America, was read to the convention in San Francisco. It vigorously assailed the Taft-Hartley Act as follows:

"The Master Truckmen of America desire on the occasion of the convention now in progress to reaffirm the high regard in which our membership holds you and the members of your organization.

"For many years we have labored together in the spirit of cooperation founded on mutual respect for the creation of better conditions in the trucking industry. These conditions have been incorporated into the various contractual agreements entered into between us from time to time.

"Never have the employer-employee relations between the members of your

local unions and our association been more satisfactory than at the present time.

"We feel that the recently enacted Taft-Hartley Act threatens to enter the progressive relations obtained between us through years of past effort and mutual regard for the manifold problems which we have always been able to resolve through intelligent and broad minded approach.

"This legislation will substitute chaos for stability, uncertainty for security, and suspicion for mutual confidence in the employer-employee labor relations. The Master Truckmen of America are prepared to collaborate and assist in every way to insure the maintenance and continuance of our highly satisfactory contractual relations.

FRED B. WOLF,
President of the Master Truckmen
of America, Inc."

Floods Washing Away Top Soil of Farms

The latest of the annual inundations of the Mississippi River, which has perpetrated damage calculated in excess of \$500,000,000 to the soil, crops, highways, railroads and cities in Illinois, Missouri and Iowa, as well as the loss of some lives, once more brings to focus the need for an over-all regional pro-

gram to save the most valuable of our national resources, the top soil of the nation, which is being washed down the rivers to the sea at a tremendous rate.

This requires an integrated program of dams, hydro-electric power projects, irrigation, soil conservation and reforestation.—*St. Louis Labor Tribune.*

In San Francisco



Left: Delegates registering at the St. Francis Hotel. D. W. Marshall of Seattle, is handing a card to Charles Burns of Boston, and International Organizer Nicholas P. Morrissey of Boston is signing his name. Leaning on the table behind is John J. Del Monte of Boston and behind him Frank Gillespie of Chicago. On the extreme right is Fred Verschueren of Seattle. To the right of Del Monte are Thomas L. Hickey of New York and James Murphy of Philadelphia.

Right Center: International Organizer John Picago of Milwaukee, International Trustee William A. Lee, International Vice-President John T. O'Brien and International Organizer Henry G. Burger, all of Chicago, being photographed on their arrival.



Lower Right: Sarah Willing, 9-year-old daughter of Henry Willing, Local No. 362, Hammond, Indiana, arrives enthusiastically with her parents.

Lower Left: A group of Chicago delegates are leaving a special train which brought them to the convention. The party is headed by Frank Brown, President of the Chicago Joint Council, on the extreme left. Others from the left are John E. Maloney of Local No. 706, David O. Sark of Local No. 726, and Mr. and Mrs. Ray Schoessling, Local No. 744.



Tobin Reports to Membership

Convention Applauds Policies Pursued by International

INTERRUPTED by frequent applause from the delegates, President Tobin made his official report at the opening of the International convention in San Francisco on August 11.

The report deals with the accomplishments of the International during the last seven years and contains recommendations for the future.

It follows:

In accordance with the customs prevailing in this organization, I am submitting to the delegates of this convention a report of some of the important, serious matters confronting our International Union and refer to some of the serious conditions that have prevailed since we assembled in our last convention in Washington, D. C., in 1940.

First, let me explain to our delegates that, in accordance with our constitution, we did everything in our power to hold our convention two years ago in 1945. Again in the following year, 1946, we used every means in our power with the railroads and the hotels in the states throughout the nation to obtain railroad transportation and hotel accommodations. We could procure railroad transportation but we could get no city in the country to furnish us anything like the hotel accommodations that we required.

This year, 1947, we have been able, after strenuous efforts, to get accommodations in the city of San Francisco. Your previous convention elected, as was our custom, the city of Los Angeles in which should be held this convention, but that city could not guarantee or furnish us with one-third of the rooms necessary to take care of our delegation. The same is true of Chicago, New York, Atlantic City and other large cities. I make this explanation for the

purpose of informing not only our delegates to this convention and our general membership, but the public at large so that they may know the facts.

It is a very serious mistake to have conventions so far apart. The world conditions change, the laws of our country change, the economic conditions under which our membership is employed change, and it is therefore necessary to hold conventions in a shorter period than five years.

We cannot afford to wait this number of years between conventions because of the fact that the requirements and protection of the International Union necessitate the coming together of the representatives of our local unions in a shorter period in order that we may meet with the changing conditions of our American life.

I, therefore, recommend that years between conventions be considered seriously and that this convention give serious consideration to this all-important matter.

Because of intensive organizing, the numerical strength of our organization has increased the usual number of delegates to conventions. Although we reduced the representation in our last convention, it was not sufficiently reduced so that we could get accommodations in either hotels or in trains. I recommend to this convention that it

is absolutely necessary to reduce the representation at all future conventions in order that we may be able to secure hotel accommodations and railroad transportation.

I do not mean by this that the local unions should not have votes in convention in proportion to their paid-up membership. What I mean is that the number of delegates be reduced not to exceed, in any local union, more than eight delegates who would vote in accordance with the paid-up membership in their organization.

This system is employed by many other international unions who are not nearly as large in membership as the International Brotherhood of Teamsters. It is also employed by the American Federation of Labor because they found many years ago it was an absolute necessity.

We are to legislate at this convention for the future of this International and, therefore, the rules and laws made will be the procedure adopted and followed until the next convention. It will be utterly impossible for me to cover in this report the many serious problems that have confronted this organization, the labor movement in general and the American people as a whole within the last seven years.

First, let me remind you that at our last convention in Washington, D. C., we were addressed by that wonderful, memorable, world-renowned statesman, the President of the United States, the late Franklin D. Roosevelt. He has passed from this life but his work, his human understanding of the problems of the masses of the people and his constructive work for labor as well as his great influence in saving the world from destruction have not. Only the historians of the future shall justly evaluate those great services to mankind.

In honor of his memory and in respect for his service to civilization and due to the fact that we miss him from our convention, because were he alive I am sure he would be with us, I ask you to stand, in respectful reverence to his memory, for one minute.

Might I also remind you that since your last convention we have lost two men who held important positions in the International Union: Thomas L. Hughes and John M. Gillespie.

In our last convention we reported a membership of 450,000 and a treasury of \$6,000,000. Today I am reporting to you a paid-up membership of 900,000 members or better, and I am reporting to you a treasury of around \$17,000,000. We have doubled our membership and we have more than doubled our treasury. Many of you may think that this is a large amount of money, but in proportion to our membership we have a lower per capita or reserve per member, for defense and organizational purposes, than we had when we only had 100,000 members.

There are yet great fields to conquer. Whoever lives until the next convention of this International Union may see a paid-up membership of 1,500,000. We have only scratched the surface covered by our jurisdiction.

Consequently we must be out front in this organizing work because if we don't organize, some irresponsible or radical groups may cripple the efforts of the truck driver, may destroy his ability to work by tying up the business. In other words, should a radical or irresponsible group get control of the warehouses they can cripple the power of the truck driver to function and by doing so can also destroy the business of our employers.

Therefore, the necessity of taking into our organization those employed in

such places who are distinctly connected with our trucking in loading and unloading our trucks. For that purpose our International obtained from the AFL jurisdiction over warehouse workers.

We may be compelled to ask for further additions to our jurisdiction as time goes on in order to protect our International Union. For instance, in the milk distributing industry, where would we be today unless we had foresight to organize all dairy workers who prepare and service the milk, cream, butter and other products of dairies to be distributed by our drivers?

If you will look around, you will get a sample here in San Francisco of the dangers that confronted this International Union by the leaders of the Longshoremén headed by Bridges, who not only organized the Longshoremén and Helpers, but branched out into other fields far distant from the waterfront and succeeded somewhat in organizing these other fields, endangering not only our jurisdiction and our right to work, but endangering the life and business of San Francisco and the State of California.

The Teamsters, realizing this danger, immediately set out to stop this encroachment by other organizations whose leaders were men of radical and un-American ideas. We were compelled to organize warehousemen and others to protect not only our own organization, but to protect the decent men engaged in business in San Francisco and in the State of California. I think the employers in this region now appreciate the service rendered by us in protecting them from foreign systems of organization in the United States to the detriment and injury of the masses of the working people. That is what some of us believe they desired: to destroy

free enterprise in American industry and business.

Your union will only be as strong as you make it. Anything that is worth having must be paid for either by blood or some similar sacrifice or by money, if it can be purchased by money. I have been an official of a local union and I have been president of a joint council and I know the local situation. But I say now that in some few instances local unions go too far in establishing dues that are not quite necessary.

I find that the same local unions that are so anxious to have heavy dues are the slowest to realize the position of the International Union. No matter who the officers of this International Union may be in the future, they must have the tools to work with or else they will fall flat in the face of the dangerous opposition to labor unions which we are experiencing at the present time and which will endeavor to destroy us in the years to come.

This union cannot stand still. It must either go forward or backward. You cannot apply the laws and rules which you adopted 27 years ago to the present time or to the future years. No increase has been made in the revenues of the International Union per member per month since 1920, while local unions in many instances have doubled their dues and have demanded services from the International Union which would not have been dreamed of 27 years ago.

Our legislative, statistical and publicity departments, each one of them so important and necessary, have done such splendid work without any extra charge to the local unions that it is discouraging to believe that our intelligent, far-seeing, aggressive membership should fail to meet the requirements of these departments, which not only

In San Francisco



Upper Right: General Counsel Joseph A. Padway explains the Taft-Hartley Act to the Convention. President Tobin is in the foreground.



Center Left: Five International Vice-Presidents in conference during the convention. Standing from the left Thomas J. (Brockey) Farrell of Cincinnati, Daniel J. Murphy of St. Louis and Sidney L. Brennan of Minneapolis. Seated are Michael J. Cashal of New York and John J. Conlin of Hoboken, N. J.



Lower Left: A view of the 1,716 delegates assembled in the Civic Auditorium as the convention opens.



should be continued, but increased in power, influence and scope.

Additional high class, experienced, brainy men should be employed. Our legal expense within the last seven years has run well over one million dollars. Not only is the International Union compelled to fight legislation in Washington, fight all kinds of lawsuits from those enemies of labor and from every freak who is encouraged by a second or third-rate lawyer, but we are involved now in nearly all lawsuits in which our unions are involved in the states that have enacted anti-labor legislation.

You will notice that in many magazines and newspapers within the last year or two, the name of THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER has appeared. Not always complimentary, as you know, but in the most deceitful and unjust terms that clever writers are capable of composing. The reason for that is that your Teamsters' Union is now nicknamed the "Powerful Teamster Union." It is because you have done things and you are going to continue to do things and because of your economic strength and unity, you have brought millions of dollars in increased wages to the homes of our membership throughout the nation.

The blindness of the leaders of industry today is almost as confirmed as it was 30 years ago. The leaders of industry fail to realize that unions are the only safety valve against Communism, which is continually disturbing the labor movement and plotting for revolution. Those anti-labor interests fail to realize that the labor movement is continuously holding those dangerous radicals back and that one of the outstanding unions in the vanguard has been the International Brotherhood of Teamsters, which has for many years forbidden to membership a member of

the Communist Party, or of one closely sympathetic with such an organization.

We reserve the right to choose our form of government. Through our sacrifices for freedom we, the majority, believe it should be run as the citizens decide by free voting. That is all we ask of Russia.

We do not forget that this pledge was made many years ago to our government by the Soviet government and that pledge has been broken. Because of the failure of the Soviet government to observe that pledge made to the President of the United States, their agents are working night and day to destroy the labor movement of America and to bring about strikes which cause discontent and hatred and by such actions bring about poverty and suffering to lay the foundation of revolution.

You delegates who represent our membership must be on the alert night and day. You must guard against undercover Communist agents with whom, I regret to say, our federal government has not been able to cope sufficiently, but I am pleased to note that recently the government is awakening to a realization of the danger that confronts it from within.

Nearly all nations except one, Russia, are willing to do everything possible to establish world peace and to pledge their honor to maintain that world peace. This brings us to our trade union movement. When business agents or officers of unions have worked their heads off to bring about a satisfactory agreement, we find that down on the floor are those agents who are continually pouring in discontent, disruption and every other kind of poison—attempting to destroy confidence in the officers.

At this convention the laws of the International should be strengthened to

the end that men who cause unlawful strikes, men who refuse to accept the advice and orders of their duly elected officers, must be expunged from membership, no matter what the cost, even if it has a tendency to weaken the union for the time being.

Make up your mind on this one point. You here at the convention are the law-makers and when you make those laws and leave this convention you obligate your officers to carry out those laws.

International officers who weaken or compromise or for any reason pursue the course of least resistance in carrying out this constitution which you will draft are absolutely useless to this International Union and if such a condition prevails it will be the first step toward the disintegration of your International Union.

I was in England addressing the British Trade Union Congress when the German armies, under Hitler, trampled and destroyed Austria, Czechoslovakia and Poland. The prime minister of England, Mr. Chamberlain, then compromised so shamelessly, or might I use the common expression, he was "bluffed" so thoroughly by the military monsters of Germany and Italy that he set back world civilization for a number of years; and by his weakness of compromising was responsible for the death of millions of human beings.

If this International Union or its officers ever go into the game of compromise in violation of this constitution, they will set back this International Union many, many bitter, cruel years. We are far from safe in the labor movement, either physically or financially, as conditions present themselves today.

The machinery of capital, blind to its own safety, is continually building up its forces with one sole purpose in mind: to destroy the institution of

organized labor. Honest capital and free enterprise have been saved in this country by organized labor. We had men in many of the debates in Congress within the last year who were elected by labor and who had pledged themselves to be just and fair. We found them playing to the galleries and making speeches denouncing the men and women of labor. In other words, while they indicated with their left hand that they were not out to destroy labor, they had a machine gun in their right hand attempting to mow down the rights and the privileges obtained by labor through legislation over the past 30 years.

In my report to the delegates at our convention in 1940 I made the following statement:

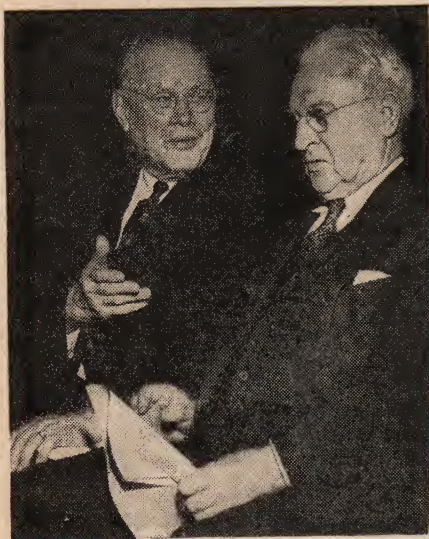
"On May 13, 1940, I delivered an address over the radio from the city of Washington and I said in that address, which was published in our official journal, that at the ending of this war, no matter who the victor is, the countries engaged in the war will be so impoverished as a result of the destruction, that men and women in all those countries will be forced into a condition almost bordering on slavery."

As it appears to me now, that condition does obtain and will have a serious effect on our beloved United States.

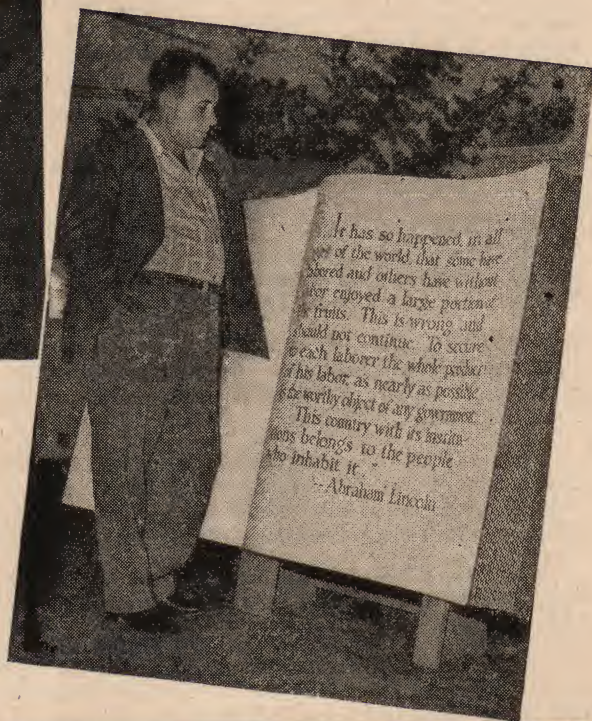
I don't want you to imagine that I am a prophet or the son of a prophet, but from many years of experience and my limited understanding of human individuals and institutions, I felt sure seven years ago that we would go through what we are now going through in this country and throughout the world. Every kind of condition which was helpful toward making men and women and their families happy has been destroyed in all the countries of Europe and Asia.

(To be continued next month)

In San Francisco

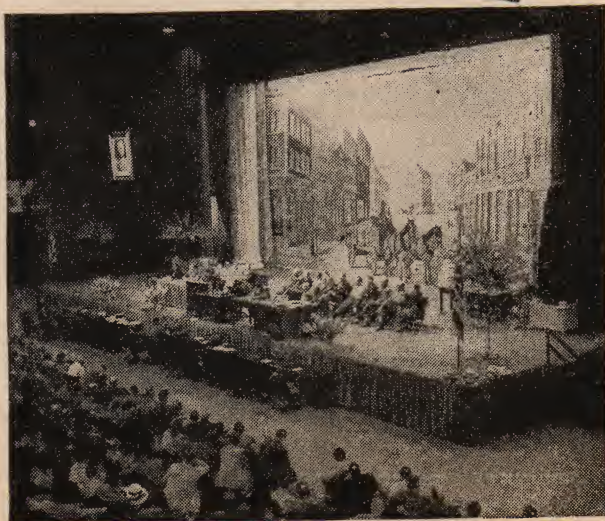


Upper Left: President Tobin and President William Green of the AFL on the stage of the auditorium.



Center Right: A southerner, International Organizer Leo B. Carter of Shreveport, La., reading with respectful approval the words of Abraham Lincoln on labor in the lobby of the convention hotel.

Lower Right: A closeup of the convention stage with the background depicting a Boston street in the days when President Tobin drove a team there.





LABOR NEWS NOTES OF THE MONTH

From the Federated Press

NEW YORK—The International Ladies' Garment Workers' Union instructed its local officials to continue signing no-strike agreements wherever employers agree to maintain the union shop and solve disputes through arbitration. President David Dubinsky said he still considered the Taft-Hartley law "vicious and inequitable" but told his union members they should try to work within the framework of the law.

WASHINGTON—The International Association of Machinists has decided to try to live with the Taft-Hartley Act but "not to promote using the NLRB's services, except in cases of necessity." This decision was announced by the IAM executive council in a bulletin to staff members saying "we are going to make every attempt to obey the law."

HARTFORD, CONN.—The state AFL sought to provoke a test of the constitutionality of the Taft-Hartley law's ban on political expenditures by unions here August 6 when it placed advertisements in a local daily newspaper urging the defeat of six Connecticut GOP congressmen who voted for the law, and defeat of Senator Robert A. Taft if he runs for President.

SHREVEPORT, LA.—A state political action group was set up by the Louisiana Federation of Labor at a special conference in Alexandria August 23-24. Delegates from 500 AFL locals met to discuss the Taft-Hartley law and form a separate political body in which they hope to enroll every AFL member in the state.

WASHINGTON—The three-page questionnaire or registration form upon which local and international unions must spell out details of their business, names and compensation of officers, and qualifications and restrictions on membership is ready at the U. S. Department of Labor.

NEW YORK—About 20,000 people in New York state manufacturing industries were thrown out of jobs between May and June, according to the state labor department. Layoffs continued steady in the metals and machine industries and in the garment industry, which discharged 4,000 during the period surveyed.

WASHINGTON—The professional farm and agricultural lobby in the nation's capital does not represent the dirt farmer, but it spends an admitted \$550,640 for 52 registered lobbyists here.

CLEVELAND—Eighteen thousand families in the Cleveland area are living in shacks unfit for human habitation, according to a survey of housing conditions in Cuyahoga county, in which Cleveland is located.

CHATTANOOGA, TENN.—The largest Labor Day parade in the history of Chattanooga is being planned by leaders of the Central Labor Union as a "mass demonstration against all anti-labor legislation recently enacted by the state legislature and Congress," officials declared here.

WASHINGTON—Newspaper publishers who forced through Congress a tricky piece of legislation exempting their news vendors from the protection of the social security act were slapped down August 6 by a presidential veto.

INDIANAPOLIS—More than 20 Indiana labor publications, headed by THE INTERNATIONAL TEAMSTER, have defied the Taft-Hartley law provision prohibiting editorial comment on political candidates and office holders by union newspapers.

SACRAMENTO, CALIF.—Labor's political action was given the spur here by the 45th annual convention of the California Federation of Labor when it decided to set up a separate state political organization and at the same time voted better than 2 to 1 to elect John F. Shelley as its president.

CINCINNATI—The Taft-Hartley law made its debut here with the filing of a \$100,000 suit against Teamsters Local No. 100 and three union officials on grounds that they violated the boycott sections of the labor law. The suit was filed by Moskowitz Bros., scrap dealers, against whom the union struck July 28 in an effort to win a contract guaranteeing payment of union wage scales.

ALLENTOWN, PA.—In a move to counteract reactionary radio newscasters and anti-labor analysts, the Conference of Eastern Pennsylvania Central Labor Unions at a recent meeting here urged that the national AFL undertake to provide local unions with radio transcriptions for delivery over local radio stations.

McALLEN, TEX.—The GOP economy drive made itself felt here when 1,000 Texas families were notified they would have to vacate their homes by September 30. The families are those of farm laborers who have been living in camp centers operated for 10 years by the Department of Agriculture. Congress refused to appropriate funds for their continued operation.

NASHUA, N. H.—This city's largest employer, the Nashua Manufacturing Co., will soon lay off more than 2,500 workers, half its work force, in a move to the South, where young labor can be bought cheap and worked to the exhaustion point.

PHILADELPHIA—Franklin D. Roosevelt, Jr., has accepted appointment as attorney for the Upholsterers' International Union, President Sal B. Hoffman announced here August 7. Hoffman said Roosevelt would make his first formal appearance on behalf of the union on August 25 at Gettysburg, Pa., in a case in which the upholsterers are trying to obtain arbitration on the firing of a furniture worker by the Gettysburg Furniture Co.

MONTGOMERY, ALA.—Because more than 7,000 teachers have left Alabama since 1941 for higher salaries elsewhere, a serious shortage now faces the state, Executive Secretary Lucien P. Giddens of the Alabama Citizens' Committee for Education charged here, urging support for a constitutional amendment earmarking surplus income tax money for education.

NEW YORK—Evictions in the first week in August were 25 per cent above those in July, the mayor's lawyer advisory committee announced here, while July evictions were themselves 10 per cent over last year's. The revelation came simultaneously with the announcement that some 300 volunteer lawyers are forming a committee to provide free advice for tenants in all city courts.

CHICAGO—Wilson Wyatt, national chairman of Americans for Democratic Action, declared that formation of a third party would be a "catastrophe" that would benefit only the National Association of Manufacturers and the Communists.

WASHINGTON—More than 900 U. S. railroads have been named defendants in a federal complaint charging that the carriers overcharged the government for transporting steel airplane landing mats from eastern factories to Pacific ports from 1942-45.

MINNEAPOLIS—Amid cheers and a hearty ovation, Senator Glen H. Taylor of Idaho called for the united action of labor on the political front with the key objective of electing someone to succeed Senator Joseph H. Ball next year.

ATLANTA—Workers at the Oconee textile mill in Whitehall, Ga., got a taste of the Taft-Hartley law when their boss ordered them to take an \$8 weekly pay cut or "get the hell out." The incident revealed what was in store for unorganized workers during the "economic readjustment."

WASHINGTON—Manufacturing profits in 1946 set an all-time record of \$6,388 million after federal and state income and excess profits taxes, the U. S. Department of Commerce reports in a newly completed study of national income.

MILWAUKEE—The United Auto Workers (AFL) launched a double fight here August 1 as its executive board ended a week-long session by urging defeat of congressmen who voted for the Taft-Hartley bill and recommending that its members join consumer cooperatives to combat skyrocketing prices.

In San Francisco



Upper Left: The delegates from New York and New Jersey in cowboy regalia serenading San Francisco in front of the city hall.



Center Right: Jubilant delegates take advantage of the music opening the convention to show their form in the aisle. Facing the camera is William Blundell of Local No. 85, San Francisco. Snuggling up to him is Delegate Ilo Wilson, also of Local No. 85.

Center Lower Right: The heaviest man in the convention, President George P. Starling of Local No. 100, Cincinnati. Other delegates from Local No. 100 say he weighs 375 pounds. Starling doesn't say "yes" and he doesn't say "no."



Lower Left: This view of the audience listening intently was taken as President Tobin flatly refused to accept a \$10,000 annual raise in salary, and announced that he would relinquish the presidency if the convention passed it over his objections.



Green Predicts Defeat for Taft

Challenges Republicans to Nominate Him for President

CHALLENGING the Republicans to nominate Senator Taft for President next year, President William Green

of the AFL made a fighting speech to the Teamsters' convention in San Francisco last month. His remarks follow:

I responded with a feeling of pleasure and deep satisfaction to the very warm and cordial invitation extended me by your distinguished president to attend this important convention, to be your guest for a brief period of time, and to meet and greet you. I am happy indeed to be here to join with you in paying a fitting and deserving tribute to a great American, a courageous member of the organized labor movement, a great leader who is held in high esteem and regard by the officers and members of the American Federation of Labor—your great president. Daniel J. Tobin.

Our great organized labor movement is facing a crisis which may profoundly affect the future well being of all American workers and even threaten the American way of life.

The forces of reaction are now in the saddle. They have captured tight control of Congress and many state legislatures as well. Their next objective is to take over the White House.

Please remember that these moves are preliminary to an all-out assault against the organized labor movement and against the whole body of social justice legislation that has been enacted during the last two decades.

Certain elements of big business are now determined to tear down the labor movement, to weaken and destroy it and to render it powerless to protect the interests of the great masses of the nation's workers.

The power which the labor unions have exercised through the years is the inherent economic strength possessed by the nation's workers. The fact that the trade union movement has grown and expanded is the most eloquent testimonial that it enjoys the confidence of the workers.

Has that power been abused? Let the record speak. No other country in the world enjoys the productive ability of America. No other country affords its workers a higher standard of living. No other country has been successful in maintaining a free economy. No other country has been able to resist the encroachment of state capitalism with its accompanying totalitarian controls over the freedom of the people.

The trade union movement has contributed a major share to these achievements.

We have fought loyally and tirelessly to defend America's freedoms. We have resisted with all our power the spread of Communism or any other form of totalitarianism. Yes, organized labor has helped to preserve the American free enterprise system.

I cannot emphasize that point too strongly. Today America is the last fortress of the free enterprise system. All of Europe has already swung either to Communism or to some form of Socialism. Great Britain, where free enterprise flourished for many centuries, has now resorted to the nationalization of

banking and industry. In fact, it would pay a good many American industrialists to study the trend of economic history in England and take heed.

The people voted overwhelmingly to discard the free enterprise system and to experiment with Socialism and government ownership of banking and industry because they were desperate and saw no other hope for progress.

Do American business men want that to happen in this country? They can dig the grave of free enterprise and force Socialism upon America by following the narrow, reactionary and headstrong policies of the National Association of Manufacturers. This shortsighted organization, dominated by the worst labor-hating employers in America, prevailed upon Congress to enact the oppressive and repressive Taft-Hartley Act. It is now busily engaged in seeking out other methods of tearing down the gains made by American workers and of inflaming the public mind against organized labor.

This is the way to foment a class struggle in America which can only end in the destruction of free enterprise and our present way of life.

Even some of the more progressive business leaders in America are beginning to recognize this truth. Cyrus Eaton, Cleveland industrialist and banker, an outstanding authority on capital and capital investment, in a recent article in the *University of Chicago Law Review*, said:

"To avoid extinction, if for no loftier motive, we who are capitalists will have to make immediate and radical changes in our attitude toward labor and our methods of dealing with labor. We will have to begin by muzzling such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers and by recognizing and

sincerely regretting that there is bad feeling on both sides.

"The one real threat to the capitalistic system in America is the cleavage between capital and labor. Despite the wishful thinking of most of my fellow capitalists, labor alone is not to blame. An equal, if not a larger, share of responsibility rests on the shoulders of the capitalists themselves."

Now this is a frank and courageous stand for a business leader to take. But Mr. Eaton went further. He became specific. Listen to what he said:

"There can be nothing but criticism for the capitalists who have lately taken to running to Washington like cry babies for help from politicians and the bureaucrats in suppressing labor. The whole story of governmental interference in business is foreign to free enterprise.

"One of our peculiar national traits is a pathetic eagerness to believe that passage of a law will solve any problem we have. Let no business man be naive enough to believe, however, that restrictive legislation will be any more effective in bringing about industrial harmony than the Volstead Act was in discouraging drinking."

The National Association of Manufacturers may be gloating today over the enactment of the Taft-Hartley Act. They may believe that they have at last put labor in its place. They may even delude themselves into thinking that they have defeated the trade union movement.

True, the passage of the Taft-Hartley Act constituted a dangerous blow to labor's current activities and to its plans for the future. But, at the same time, it had the salutary effect of rousing the rank and file of our great movement from their lethargy and awakening them to the dangers that come from too som-

nolent an attitude toward their union and civic responsibilities.

Today our people are aroused as never before. At last they recognize the threats to their welfare. Never before have I witnessed such a united and aggressive demand for action on the part of the rank and file of labor—concerted action to strike back at the enemies of the workers with every legitimate weapon at our command until the Taft-Hartley Act is repealed and the whole Tory trend is reversed.

That, I promise you, is the Number One objective of the American Federation of Labor. We are committed to this cause. We will never cease our efforts until victory is won!

Because labor in America cherishes the blessings of freedom, liberty and democracy as a common heritage, it will never—now or in the future—submit to governmental and bureaucratic domination and control of its economic life as provided for in the Taft-Hartley law.

This hateful law is part of a new legislative pattern in Washington—a pattern that became crystal clear with the enactment of the “rob-the-poor” rent-boosting bill and two attempts to enact a “spare-the-rich” tax bill over President Truman’s veto.

The 80th Congress has scorned the will of the people. It responds only to the dictates of entrenched wealth.

All that is going to be changed! I pledge to you that the great organized labor movement will exert every ounce of its energy during the coming year to see to it that there is a thorough house-cleaning in the next Congress.

First, the American Federation of Labor and its affiliated unions will use their economic strength to protect the interests of their membership in contract negotiations with employers so

that some of the harsh provisions of the Taft-Hartley Act will not apply.

Secondly, we will use every resource at our command to challenge the legality of the slave-labor law in the courts. We are confident that a large portion of it will be held unconstitutional by the Supreme Court of the United States.

Finally, we are determined to unite, organize and concentrate our efforts on defeating for re-election every member of Congress who voted for this vicious law.

Make no mistake about it—labor has the votes. Again let me quote briefly from Mr. Eaton’s article—this industrialist, not me, not from some other labor baron as classified by Senator Taft. Mr. Eaton says—and this is not my language:

“Labor not only produces the goods and consumes a large part of them—labor also has the votes. In a democracy like ours, where the majority rules, capitalism cannot survive without the support of labor.”

We are going to wage an all-out campaign in the 1948 elections to elect our friends and defeat our enemies—and no one is going to stop us!

Of course, Senator Robert A. Taft of Ohio, one of the authors of the Taft-Hartley Act, claims that the rank and file membership of our unions do not support our opposition to the law he sponsored. He seems to think he can gain votes by attacking labor.

Well, let’s put it to the test! Senator Taft is a candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. In your presence I hereby challenge the Republican national convention to nominate him for the presidency so that we can have a clear-cut issue in 1948.

The other author of the bill, Congressman Hartley, seems to have sensed the trend of the times, because the other

day he announced he wouldn't be a candidate for re-election to Congress. I would like to challenge him to run. Our people in New Jersey would give him the worst beating that any candidate ever had.

I have no hesitation in predicting that

for every labor vote Senator Taft gets, at least 100,000 labor votes will be cast against him. I further predict that Mr. Taft would suffer the worst defeat ever handed to any candidate of a major party for the presidency of the United States.

English Reports to Convention

Seven-Year Period Saw Deaths of Two Secretary-Treasurers

IN A MESSAGE to the convention accompanying his financial report of the International since the last convention in 1940, Secretary-Treasurer John F. English said:

"In conformity with the laws of the International constitution, I herewith tender a report of the financial activities of the International Union since September 1, 1940. This report covers the periods of stewardship of General Secretary-Treasurer Thomas L. Hughes, General Secretary-Treasurer John M. Gillespie and myself to June 30, 1947.

"The average membership for the past six months since January 1, 1947, is 875,001, an increase of 430,814 since the last convention in 1940, at which time the membership averaged 444,187. There were 282 charters issued to local unions and 16 to joint councils.

"Audits were conducted in 949 local unions by International representatives, resulting in the finding of \$175,681.65 back tax. Of this amount approximately \$20,000 is still outstanding.

"A program of modernization of the bookkeeping system employed by the local unions is contemplated. To this

end, I recommend that a committee of the five general organizers and auditors be convened immediately after the close of the convention to investigate the possibilities of a change suitable to and workable by all the locals.

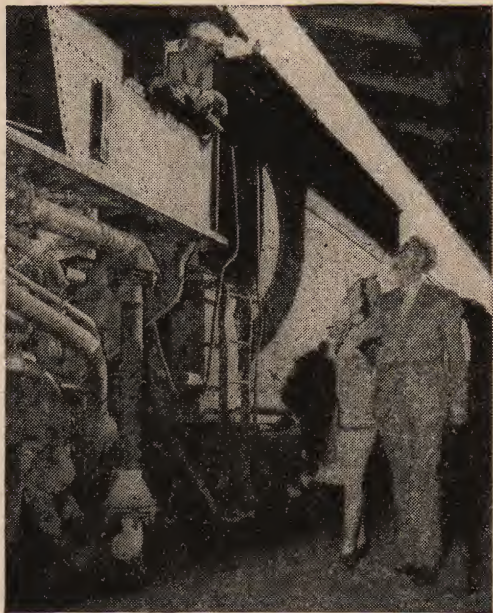
"I further recommend that the general secretary-treasurer be empowered to change the prices of supplies periodically in order to give the local unions full benefit of volume buying and also protection for the International Union should prices advance beyond our control.

"It will be noted that the figures, as given in next issue, do not go to any great amount of detail. The figures are given as bulk sums because the majority of the period since the last convention was the responsibility of the two deceased general secretary-treasurers, my predecessors, my term of office beginning April 1, 1946.

"The splendid cooperation of all the local unions has made my work a real pleasure. It is, therefore, with a deep sense of appreciation that I submit this report for your examination and approval."

Labor's job is to keep the unprincipled extremists of the right and the left from obtaining any influence and control in the labor movement. Outside of this, tolerance and respect for man's freedom of thought, belief and expression must never be denied to anyone in the ranks of labor, nor must it be used to bar him from full participation in the affairs of his union.—*The St. Louis Labor Tribune.*

In San Francisco



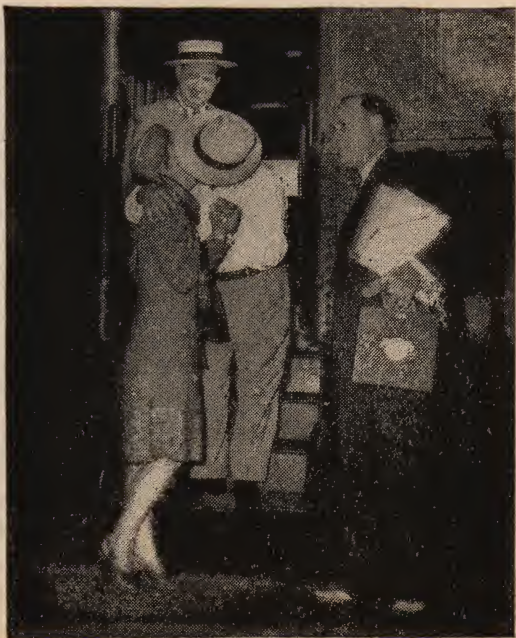
Upper Left: David Kenny, Local No. 724, Chicago; Jack Rankin, Local No. 175, Charleston, W. Va., and Pullman Conductor George Thompson, Chicago, have arrived in San Francisco.

Upper Right: Mr. and Mrs. Royce E. Woodall of Atlanta leaving the train. He is statistician of the Southern Conference of Teamsters.

Center Left: George L. Knott, Local No. 712, Chicago.

Lower Left: A view of the station with delegates arriving.

Lower Right: Frank Brown, President of the Chicago Joint Council is welcomed to San Francisco by Mrs. Helen Joyce, daughter of International Vice-President John T. O'Brien. Looking wistfully over them is President Ray Schoessling of Local No. 744, and on the right, pursing his lips, is President David O. Sark of Local No. 726, Chicago.



Boosts Warren, Blasts Knowland

Tobin Response to Welcome Addresses Has Political Flavor

THE response of President Tobin to the welcoming addresses of city and state leaders in both government and labor to the Teamsters' 15th convention in San Francisco carried a strong politi-

cal flavor. The Teamster chief praised Gov. Warren but criticized Senators Knowland of California and Ives of New York.

It follows in part:

Your Excellency, Governor Warren of California; Mayor Lapham; the secretary of the State Federation of Labor; and the San Francisco Trades and Labor Council, I extend to you the thanks and greetings and the homage of this convention for your kind welcome.

This isn't the first time this convention of the Teamsters has been held in San Francisco. We held a very memorable convention here in 1915. That was a good many years ago and there have been a great many changes in the world since those days. At that time we had less than 100,000 members and very little money in our treasury, but we were fighting for what we believed was right, and right eventually won, as it always will.

I came here first in 1908. We had two small unions in the International. Later I went down to Los Angeles. We had about 35 members in the city of Los Angeles. We were fought and ruthlessly assaulted. Our lives were in danger. We were driven from post to pillar, and what is the result?

Because of the justice of life, because the organized labor movement has never demanded only that which rightfully belongs to it, today around Los Angeles we have 82,000 paid-up members, and in the State of California, 124,000 paid-up members.

Well, you see how far we have progressed. And who has done it? The workers. This great man whom you heard addressing you a moment ago didn't have any of the support of the half-honest corporations. They couldn't elect him. He had the masses of the workers of the state behind him. He is a most unusual character, because even the Democrats didn't dare run a candidate against him. Our people went down the line for Governor Warren and they are not sorry. I hope they won't be sorry by the end of his term.

They also went down the line for another man, a very fine, courteous gentleman from across the bay. I am not in love with courteous gentlemen when they go to extremes. This man was elected to the United States Senate. He ran against a rather progressive young man from somewhere south of San Francisco.

Senator Knowland was elected with the backing of the Teamsters and a great part of organized labor. I think they made a mistake, and I told the senator so. I advised him of the mistake I thought labor made here in supporting him, because in the first real test of a stand-up man, despite my personal appeal to him in the hotel a few nights before, he voted against us and for the most desperate and treacherous and unfair law that has been enacted against

the masses of the people in the last half century—the Taft-Hartley bill.

That is why I think labor made a mistake. I really like the man personally, but that personal feeling doesn't alter the facts. He went to Washington and he was contaminated by the old die-hard reactionaries who inherited their hatred of labor from the blood of their fathers. He followed their line, right or wrong, against the working people who elected him to office.

We have a number of others, like Senator Ives from New York, who puts his arm around our business agents and tells them that he is with them, but when it comes to a showdown, he votes in favor of a measure to strangle them.

Let me say to you, my dear governor, there are more than 900,000 members in our organization and we haven't one man on strike in your state or the nation today.

I don't ask any credit. It is our duty. But I hate to have to appear before a committee of the United States Senate or House to hear charges that labor has gone so far, has outraged the people of the nation to such an extent that we must have legislation to stop us from striking or to stop us from jurisdictional dispute.

I am not a pessimist, but what I am afraid of is that this new law—and I so advise the leaders of both parties—will lead to strikes. Men will not be chained to a post when they believe in their own consciences and in their own hearts that they are justified in obtaining through their strength, their labor, their blood and their sweat that to which they are entitled. These are the only weapons they have, and they are not going to be deprived of justice even if they have to strike.

I sat in the Federal Reserve Bank building in Washington in the dark days

of the beginning of the war with one of my associates. There were a number of others there. We pledged ourselves during that awful, crucial period that we would create a board such as we had in the first World War, and that under no circumstances would either side permit a strike if it were humanly possible to prevent it.

Only one organization rebelled against that board. There were 99 others—in fact there were more than 99, because the CIO was in there, and all of them scrupulously kept the faith. Why? It was not to satisfy the political leaders; it was not to satisfy big business, but because the very life and freedom of this nation was involved and the blood of our people was to be demanded as a sacrifice. No people ever in the history of the world kept the faith with their country as did the American labor movement during the years of the war.

We had in this organization of ours 124,000 members wearing the uniform of some branch of the service. We had men killed driving trucks on the roads of China. We never asked for exemption from that service for any man. Because of the youth and the health, the strength and the intelligence of our members we gave more proportionately than any other labor organization in America.

We had something involved, so it was up to us not only to preserve the safety of our nation, but to help to shorten the everyday risk of life of our members who were overseas.

And what did we get for it? There is an old saying that eaten bread is soon forgotten. But there is one crime that never can be forgotten by any average intelligent person or by a nation, and that is the crime of ingratitude, committed by the political machines of both parties. They rewarded the workers for their sacrifices by cementing their limbs

with iron shackles, which the workers will not permit to remain on their limbs.

I have spent all my life fighting for the honest protection of honest capital and free enterprise.

We are the only nation in the world today that has protected the right of a man to go out and honestly accumulate something decently for himself and his family. That does not mean to say that I am backing the chisellers and the thieves and the robbers who control many of the industries of the nation. We are advancing and 99 per cent of the capitalistic world is looking for a way to be right. Yes, 99 per cent. There is one per cent, even as we have in labor, that are the disturbers. Ah, yes, they are in the ascendancy now, but everything that goes up must come down.

For 16 years, breaking all the established customs of this country, one man was elected President of these United States. He didn't finish out his fourth term. In 1940, anyone would laugh at you if you attempted to even insinuate that a man could be elected for a third term, because even George Washington couldn't have been elected. But we are not living in the days of Washington, nor are we living in the days of Abraham Lincoln, as much as I admired and loved them both.

We are living in a new age, and all this past history amounts to nothing when the people rise. That was proven in the elections of 1940 and 1944. The same man was elected for four terms. It can't happen here? Everything that ever happened before and things that never happened before, can happen here.

Who elected that man for four terms? I am telling you right now it was the masses of toilers of this nation who were organized who elected that man to be

the head of the government, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Well, many have forgotten him now and others are still trying to smear him, but history will write his name in between those of Washington and Lincoln. It is not the money that a man corrals in this world, nor the evil that a man does, but the good he does that lives after him. History will write him up as one of the greatest emancipators of all time.

And now that this great man has passed away his name is not to be smeared by hirelings under the guise of freedom of the press and freedom of speech. Those hirelings should be branded as traitors to the nation.

Now they are plastering the British labor movement for the blunders it is making. I don't like many of the things it is doing, but that is not my business. I don't know the inside of what is going on in England. I do know that they are almost on the verge of bankruptcy—one of the great, powerful nations of the world.

At the time Queen Victoria was made Empress of India the British thought the day would never come when they would give up India. Today, their Empire is almost entirely dismembered. The Empire still includes Australia, South Africa and Canada, but from those nations the British are getting practically nothing financially to support their forty-four million people living on a small island.

This country may have to go it alone in the next war if things do not brighten up a little bit in the next two or three years. We must be prepared, and the greatest strength this country will have is the confidence of the organized toilers of this nation—men and women like you.

We are the only large nation in the

world today that is trying to protect free enterprise and honest capital. And speaking of protecting honest capital, was there anyone from capital to say a word to save us from the forging of the chains that would bind us? I don't remember seeing any of them—the Chamber of Commerce or the Manufacturers' Association didn't say one single word on behalf of labor—labor that has saved business. Labor believes that it is justified in supporting capital, but capital is gradually driving us away from that belief.

Now Governor Warren is going to stay a few minutes to see how we conduct this convention. I just hope that they never send him to Washington, because they will ruin him down there. They will just destroy this man.

In the early days these conventions weren't all smiles for some people. You have the highest reputation of any convention group in America, business, political or labor. In 1940 we were the

only labor organization that Constitution Hall was rented out to. We paid the Daughters of the Revolution or the granddaughters. At that convention we had our headquarters at the Mayflower Hotel, and not one five-cent piece of cloth was damaged or carpet burned. Some great national conference of manufacturers was in the same hotel for four and a half days, however, and they did \$50,000 worth of damage there.

I want you to keep that reputation and I know you will. We are in every hotel here in the city of San Francisco. This is the only city that could accommodate us with our large delegations because of the scarcity of hotel rooms. Have a good time and enjoy yourselves. But remember you are not individuals. You are representatives of the people who have confidence in you and sent you here, and remember that the reputation and honor of the International Union is yours to maintain and observe, and I know you will.

Oregon Teamsters Telegraph NAM Lawyer

Teamsters in Oregon believe in going to the source when they want authentic information. So when there was a bit of confusion over the Taft-Hartley law, this telegram, published on the front page of the *Oregon Teamster*, was sent to Ray Smethurst of the National Association of Manufacturers' legal division:

"Congressman Fred Hartley says new contract signed by Lewis and mine

operators violates Taft-Hartley law. Hartley should know. His name is on the bill.

"Senator Robert Taft says new contract signed by Lewis . . . does not violate Taft-Hartley law. Taft should know. His name is on the bill.

". . . We appeal to your office for an interpretation. We understand the bill was drafted by NAM lawyers. Maybe you know."—*Federated Press*.

Argentina Salutes Mussolini's Artistic Son

Mussolini's son, who once wrote how beautiful it was to drop bombs on Abyssinians, may soon have a chance to take up his art career again in an American plane.

He is currently being driven around

Argentina in a government car and hailed with Fascist salutes in Peronland, to which the U. S. proposes to supply free arms and military instruction.—*The Union Times, New Haven, Conn.*

Padway Sifts Taft-Hartley Act

Provisions of New Law Are Explained by Attorney

By JOSEPH A. PADWAY

THE Taft-Hartley Act passed on June 23 is officially titled, "Labor-Management Relations Act of 1947." The Act is divided into several parts and the first part is a complete revision of the National Labor Relations Act (NLRA).

The NLRA covers any employment which affects interstate commerce, unless it is specifically exempted. Federal, state and local governments, Federal Reserve Banks, non-profit hospitals, and any employer subject to the Railway Labor Act are not *employers* covered by the Act. Individuals employed in agriculture or domestic service, or by their parents or spouse, independent contractors, and supervisors (including foremen) are not *employees*. Apart from these exceptions, the Act can be administered to include all trade and industry which is not strictly local, like retail and service trades.

How far the coverage of the Act is extended will depend, like many other questions, upon its administration. The Act is administered by a new board, consisting of five members, in place of the former three-man board. The old board had full control over all its business; the new board shares its powers with an independent general counsel, who supervises the personnel of the regional offices of the board and has "final authority" over the investigation and prosecution of all charges and complaints. The board itself is left with the power to issue general rules and to decide cases brought to it by the general counsel.

Employees have a right to belong to unions and take part in union activities; and under the Taft-Hartley Act, they

also have a right *not* to belong to unions, and *to refrain from* union activities. The unfair labor practices of employers and unions all relate to this declaration of the rights of employees.

There are five unfair labor practices by employers which violate these rights:

1. To interfere with, restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of these rights.
2. To dominate or support a union.
3. To discriminate against employees because of union membership or non-membership.
4. To discharge or otherwise penalize an employee for filing charges or testifying before the board.
5. To refuse to bargain collectively with a union which represents a majority of employees in an appropriate unit.

There are seven unfair labor practices by unions:

1. To restrain or coerce employees in the exercise of their basic rights.
2. To restrain or coerce an employer in the selection of his representatives to deal with the union.
3. To cause or attempt to cause an employer to discriminate against employees on account of union membership or non-membership.
4. To refuse to bargain collectively with an employer where it is the majority representative of his employees.
5. To engage in certain strikes and boycotts.
6. To charge excessive initiation fees to members under union shop agreements.

7. To force an employer to pay for work which is not expected to be performed.

The first impact of the Act is upon the closed shop, or any type of agreement which in one way or another makes union membership a condition of employment. Any closed shop contract in force before June 23 is good for the balance of its term, whatever that may be. Any renewal or extension, however, even if automatic, begins a new contract.

An existing contract can probably be reopened on any item (e. g., wages) without affecting its union security provisions, if the reopening does not change the term or duration of the contract in any way. Between June 23 and August 22, 1947, a union could enter into a closed shop contract for one year. But any agreement made after August 22, 1947, which requires union membership as a condition of employment, is subject to the prohibitions and restrictions of the Act.

The closed shop and other forms of union security are directly affected by the two unfair labor practices which forbid employers to discriminate on account of union membership or non-membership, and forbid unions "to cause" employers to discriminate on that account. A contract which makes union membership a condition of employment requires the employer to favor union men and to discriminate against non-union men. This discrimination by the employer is forbidden whether it is done with or without a contract. The making of a closed shop contract by an employer and a union voluntarily may only be subject to a cease-and-desist order, but the enforcement of the contract so as to deprive any person of employment, or the opportunity for employment, will subject both the union

and the employer to an immediate injunction and the payment of any loss in wages suffered by the complaining individual.

The Taft-Hartley Act permits a union to have a restricted form of union security. This type of valid union security agreement can only be made by a union which has an unquestioned majority status. If this status is questioned, an election must first be held to determine the majority choice. But this clear status is not enough. In addition, an election must be held to determine if the employees wish to authorize the union to enter a union shop contract.

To get this election, the union must prove that 30 per cent of the employees want an election to be held. The authorization election must be won by a majority of *all* the employees eligible to vote, not merely a majority of those who actually vote.

If a union fails to win this vote, it cannot ask for another authorization election within a year. Once the authorization has been granted, a union shop agreement can be made and renewed without further authorization elections. However, 30 per cent of the employees in this unit can, by a signed petition at any termination date, demand a new authorization election. This agreement is not only limited to one year, it is also severely limited in scope.

A valid union shop agreement under the Taft-Hartley Act can go no further than to require an individual to join the union within 30 days after being employed; membership must be open to all employees on equal terms; and an employee cannot be discharged under such an agreement as long as he is willing to pay the regular dues and initiation fees.

An employee can be fined by the union or expelled for breach of union

discipline, but the union cannot force the employer to discharge him for that reason. Both an employer and a union going beyond these limitations are subject to an immediate temporary injunction from the courts, a permanent cease-and-desist order from the board, and back pay and reinstatement claims from any individual who loses his employment as a result.

Under a union shop agreement permitted by the Taft-Hartley Act, an employer cannot do more than compel all employees to pay to the union the regular dues and initiation fees. This excludes special assessments and fines. And any employee may complain to the board that the initiation fees are excessive or discriminatory. The board can order the union to reduce its fees and to refund any excess charges already collected.

The employer may deduct the amount of union dues (and dues only) from wages and pay the amount over to the union only if each employee has individually signed a written authorization for the check-off. The compulsory, automatic check-off is absolutely illegal. Both the union and the employer agreeing to it are criminally liable to a \$10,000 fine and a year in jail.

Agreements containing a compulsory, automatic check-off made *before* June 23, 1947, are valid up to July 1, 1948. The voluntary authorization, however, can be made irrevocable for a year, at the end of which time a new authorization must be signed. The union may, if it wishes, secure from each employee a check-off authorization, which is revocable at any time. Such an authorization would not have to be executed more than once.

The Taft-Hartley Act contains a general prohibition against "restraint" or "coercion" of employees by a union.

These are legalistic words and it is difficult to say what they mean. But two significant points are clear. In the first place, while employers are forbidden to "interfere" with the employee's rights, unions are not.

The term "interfere" is omitted with respect to unfair labor practices by unions, and its omission is deliberate. At the very least, ordinary solicitation of union membership is not touched by the Act. The Act also specifically safeguards the right of a labor organization "to prescribe its own rules with respect to the acquisition or retention of membership therein."

This means that a union is free to reject applicants for membership and to punish members for violation of union discipline by fines and other penalties. It may also mean that a union member can refuse to work with a non-union man where such association would be a violation of the union constitution or by-laws. The union, however, may not incorporate this rule into a collective bargaining agreement.

The foregoing unfair labor practices by unions are prohibitions affecting individual employees. The Taft-Hartley Act prohibits a union from committing certain unfair labor practices against employers. A union cannot "restrain or coerce" an employer in the selection of his representatives to negotiate contracts or adjust grievances. This may mean that a union cannot force an employer to bargain through an association, but it does not prevent the union from offering uniform terms to all employers in the same general class.

An employer may complain to the board that the union is trying to force him to pay for work which "is not performed or to be performed." This section can be given many extreme meanings, but it is safe to assume that it does

not apply to any payments made for the time of employees, even though no work is actually done in the time paid for.

An employee's time is worth payment; what this section prohibits are payments for which no effort of any kind is required. If the employee has to make his time available to the employer, that in itself requires an effort and prevents the employee from working at some other job. Hence, this section does not prohibit call-in pay, travel-time pay or other pay when the employee has to keep himself available for employment.

It does not apply to any periods of idleness in the course of employment like make-ready or waiting time. And it does not apply to payments for past service, like vacation or severance pay. It is also reasonable to believe that this section does not regulate the number of employees on a job. The section does not say anything about how much work has to be performed or whether it is necessary.

It is an unfair labor practice for a union to refuse to bargain collectively with an employer. The term "to bargain collectively" is given a lengthy definition. It means that the parties must meet with each other at reasonable times, and in good faith discuss terms. If an agreement is reached, either party can require that it be put in writing, but neither side has to agree to a proposal or make any concessions.

Where there is an existing contract, it is an unfair labor practice for a union to terminate or modify the contract or make any changes in working conditions unless it takes the following steps:

1. Gives 60 days written notice to the employer.
2. Offers to meet and confer upon new terms.
3. Within 30 days after notice to the employer, gives notice of the exist-

ence of a dispute to the federal and state mediation and conciliation agencies.

During the period of the notice, no change can be made in working conditions. This strike notice requirement can be met by giving the notice at least 60 days before the termination of the contract. Any employee who goes out on strike during the waiting period can be summarily discharged by the employer.

The same duty is imposed upon the employer, and under similar circumstances he cannot make any changes in working conditions without giving the above notices. He may be enjoined from making any such changes or from locking out employees before the 60 days are up.

This prohibition on the employer is mild indeed, and it is nothing at all compared to the prohibitions against certain strikes and boycotts by unions. The Taft-Hartley Act makes it unlawful for a union to engage in a strike or concerted refusal to handle goods or perform services, or to induce other employees to take similar action, for any one of the following objects:

1. To force an employer or self-employed person to join a union or an employers' association.
2. To force a person to stop using the products or services of another person.
3. To force another employer to recognize and bargain with a union unless the union has been certified by the board.
4. To force any employer to bargain with one union if another union has been certified by the board.
5. To force an employer to give work to one particular union or craft as against others unless the particular craft has been certified by the board.

This section of the Act is dangerous, because anyone injured by the prohibited acts can sue in the federal courts for damages. Certain points are clear. In the first place, it does not apply to any appeal to consumers not to patronize a struck or unfair employer. It does not apply to direct strikes over wages, hours or working conditions.

It does prohibit three kinds of direct strikes:

1. A strike to compel an employer to join an employers' association or a union even if he is a working employer.
2. A strike against a rival union which has been certified by the board.
3. A strike over jurisdiction, unless the union claiming the work has been certified by the board.

It prohibits most sympathetic action by one union in aid of another union having a dispute with the same or another employer. Both the union seeking sympathetic action and the union giving it are violating the Act. It makes it unlawful for a union to extend any strike or boycott to other employers or to the suppliers or customers of the struck employer.

There are two situations in which sympathetic action is permitted by the Act:

First, where the main dispute is caused by the refusal of an employer to recognize or bargain with a union of his employees *which has been certified by the board*, other workers can refuse to handle the products of the struck employer or refuse to furnish services to him. But it must be noted that certification by the board under the new procedures will, in many cases, not be easy. Moreover, the duty to bargain has been reduced to a mere formality

with which any employer can readily comply.

Second, a union can direct its members not to cross a picket line and enter the premises of a struck employer, provided that the strike is being carried on by a union which is the authorized representative of the employees of the struck employer. This strike can be over any issue, but the union refusing to cross the picket line must be sure of the status of the striking union.

A representative is defined by the Act to mean an individual or organization. The representative chosen by the majority of the employees in an appropriate unit has the exclusive right to negotiate contracts and to administer them.

But an individual employee or a group of employees has the right under the Act to take up their grievances with the employer, provided the representative is notified and allowed to be present. Moreover, any settlement or adjustment of a grievance must be in line with the contract between the employer and the union. As a practical matter, an employer will not make a settlement without consulting the union, because otherwise the union could claim that the settlement violates the terms of the contract.

Under the old Act, the NLRB had complete discretion to decide what was the appropriate unit; whether, for example, it was an entire plant or separate crafts within a plant. Under the new Act, a craft union can on demand secure a separate election; and no craft group can be included in a larger unit unless a majority of the group votes against separate representation. The fact that the NLRB has previously established a larger unit in any particular case does not prevent a well-defined craft group from now asserting its claims.

(To be continued next month)

The Senate Smears Itself

A CRUDE attempt to defile the memory of President Roosevelt ended when the United States Senate suddenly abandoned its probe into the airplane contracts given Howard Hughes.

The target of the investigating committee was obviously Elliott Roosevelt. By smearing him, the committee hoped it would tarnish the record of his father.

The probe failed dismally.

While it showed lavish entertaining by the Hughes company, some of which young Roosevelt accepted, it did not show any vestige of culpability on the part of the dead President.

But the money spent by Hughes was trivial compared to that spent by other corporations to obtain war contracts and influence Congress.

The Senate committee apparently was not interested in that because no member of the Roosevelt family was remotely involved. So it arranged a Hollywood revue to capture the newspaper headlines and dazzle the public with big names and pretty figures.

Hughes, himself, was a match for the committee. He was no scared rabbit squirming in a trap. In fact, the committee squirmed, not Hughes, when he took the witness stand.

He told a sordid story of senatorial intrigue to force a merger of corporations for the financial profit of the stockholders of one of them.

He threw the spotlight on congressional maneuvers to give a monopoly to one airplane company, eliminating all competition by others to give the public lower rates or better service.

If the Senate had undertaken an investigation to bring to justice any of the men or corporations who drained the federal treasury of billions, we would applaud the probe.

Unquestionably there is much to investigate in the war contracts when men grew fat and rich on public funds by taking advantage of a national war crisis.

We hope the Senate goes into that, but we have no confidence that it will. On the record it established in the Hughes case, we have nothing but contempt for the integrity of those politicians who are clamoring for investigations.

We want no political investigations. Let the Senate open up the war contract mess without partiality. Then the public will see who delayed the war effort. And it will see that it was not organized labor. The very men who accused labor will stand exposed as the men who robbed their country and profited by its peril.

The Senate doesn't want to show that. Labor is Public Enemy No. 1 in the mind of the United States Senate. It will permit no competition from anyone. It has given us a monopoly on criticism, while others are given monopolies on cash.

But it looks like the public is catching on. In trying to smear Roosevelt, the Senate succeeded only in smearing itself.

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